

/277 cont. /

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more
[181] intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious displays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native [415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical [435] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan. 556 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of 237 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of 614 manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This 556 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured 614 products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, head-dresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

• 571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously 614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The Kario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Ārōre Čābōge^{wōge}, Ēwāguddudoge Čābōge^{wōge}, and Ēwāguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bōro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ēwāguddudoge baiaddada^{wōge}, and O Čera clans.

The Bādejebage Čēbege^{wōge} were given to us as especially poor.

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is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ûga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

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Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

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Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tušawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tušawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [437] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

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Tušawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a

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"bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

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Tušawa, the

634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
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1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

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Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
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1. The marid'do is a sort of very long, flexible ladder, the rungs of

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614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awāra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigēb," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bādejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

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977 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bādejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

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787 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bādejebage Čebege^{wōge}: Iparéčeba, of the Bādejebage Čabogē^{wōge}, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bādejeba Čebege^{wō} had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

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[987] Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Éwāguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
 773 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
 [262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character. [614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orōgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

- 571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
 614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
 [115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bādejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont. /

614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

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[997] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30 years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Čāboge^wō or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Čēbege^wō or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Čēbege^wō, however, held a pre-eminent place.

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621 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho (on which we have no information) has always been different, or that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čēbege^wōge and Čāboge^wōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

/302 cont. /

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
 614 Bādejebage Čabōge^{wōge}. The existence, the name, and the
 616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
 621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
 [634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three
 reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the
 Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the
 original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro com-
 memorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero,
 the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments.
 But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its
 entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has re-
 mained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has over-
 taken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čebege^{wōge},
 are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the
 origin of the Bādejeba Čebege^{wōge} from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps
 the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream
 Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families,
 itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to
 occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan
 of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential
 prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has be-
 come the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end
 of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group
 of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis
 emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The re-
 maining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two
 secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan.
 By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the
 O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the
 Bādejebage Čebege^{wōge} found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont. /

- 571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
 614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
 616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
 621 Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
 [634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
 and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
 an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
 [592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
 Bādejeba Čēbege^{wō} clan were only occupied by some old men,
 while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
 [825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
 [773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
 of the Bādejebage Čēbege^{wō}ge.

Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with
 the exception of the two notes) to
 the exposition of material assembled
 in the field. For a more complete
 study the works and articles cited
 here can be consulted.

000 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see
 the foreign text, pp. 303-304. /

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There is still another context in which the Bororo use the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criação dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echeræ moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echeræ clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

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I will now discuss some clans that present certain peculiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echeræ is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

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¹
Paiwoe, Apiborege

Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge

Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge

[361]

The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echeræ (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echeræ (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

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The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

¹
The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.

614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.

[224] Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
[226] side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
[701] kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
[796] performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
[533] cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)

622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement

613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,

614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.

571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
611 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them
chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk
about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of
older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the
other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal import-
ance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to
be of equal importance.

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created
red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacri-
fice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a
certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws
as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves
equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[92] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call some-
body just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical po-
sition in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo lan-
[73] guage. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even
twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.

844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best
informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever be-
[73] ing born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have hap-
pened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe
which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one
child after another in succession, never to two at once. And
so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have al-
● 571 ready been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and
periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
114 patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the re-
lationship existing between older and younger brother has
been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed
earlier the stock of names which are partially different for
the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the
activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu
and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature
of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more ex-
tensively and supplemented with additional data.

614 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor
of the Big Palwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while
their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts
of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have
aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the
Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The
Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keadoge (kind
of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers'
clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.

614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu
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Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

- 571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not
from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship
is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his
yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his
ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the
yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of ex-
amples:

- 571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress.
He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of
the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He
also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and
also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and
his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudu. That is what
Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called
Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo
lwararege eimejera (the chief of the lwararege, a
star constellation), his calabash and his head-
dress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament
of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what
Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After
this they called each other yorubodare."

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"Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu
Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo
toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera
ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke,
uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore
Baitogogo rere Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare
ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure lwararege eimejera
uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge
ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore
Bakorokudu rere tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji
pagire egore iyorubodare ino pul."

773 These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black
616 Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badahebaga Chebegiwuge) exchanged.

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The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

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Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket,
which is worn during the ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate
the lower lip of a male child in the naming
ceremony)

okvedawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird
breast)

enotadawu "kuruqugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament
made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejara and his paraphernalia:

imo iroqodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is
worn during ceremonies)

imo pariko (a headdress)

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Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo frogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Bee eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure

Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge,

Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroqe was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.

[769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it

[115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroqe was Itubore.

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616
• 571 But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'itubore.'

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many sub-clans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge (Jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aife (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) belonging to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aife, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

Bakororo gave:

Aife choreu (black Aife) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aife kujagureu (red Aife) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aife baru-baru (Aife of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aife akirireu (down Aife) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

1
"A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Itubore ema pugeje."

- 773 Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or
616 Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echeræ Chebegiwuge)
571
[774] Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badaje-
bage Chebegiwuge).

- [776] Sirimodo gave:
Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu
(Kiye Chobugiwuge)
Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to
Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echeræ).

- [776] Hano Kurireu gave:
Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echeræ
Chebegiwuge)
Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegi-
wuge).

- [614] The Aroræ entered into a yorubodare relationship with
ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the
Echeræ subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and
again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one
telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije)
to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to
quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to
Jerigi Otojiwu.

- 571 As a second example I list the lineages with which the
616 clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships
614 (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in
613 each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

● 571 changed:

616

614

613

Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echeræ)
Kaigu (Bokodori Echeræ Chobugiwuge)
Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)
Bakorokudu (Badaжебage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badaжебage Chobugiwuge)
Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echeræ)
Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echeræ)
Kaigu (Bokodori Echeræ Chobugiwuge)
Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)
Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)
Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echeræ)
Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echeræ Boyadada)
Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)
Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)
Ocha Kudureu (Badaжебage Chebegiwuge, Echeræ).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echeræ
Small Kiye.

- 571 We see that there is a tendency for the most important
616 lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most
613 important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less im-
portant lineages to contract these relationships with lesser
lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to
make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships exist-
ing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that
younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent
to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can
claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all
lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare
relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the
Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae
Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the
chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in
exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other rela-
tionship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge,
Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the
gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one
informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa
or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu,
and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro.
Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororb at least one representa-
tion to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
[512] Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
[511] eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among them-
selves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

- 571 Two other lineages of the Echeræ moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [571] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [769] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

"First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echeræ among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

571 cause their Echeræ husbands and wives would quar-
616 rel with them."¹

413 Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite
773 frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between
582 members of the same moiety; one of these was between members
614 of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in
833 the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the
173 woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house,
where she would be sexually available to all of them.

835 Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an of-
582 fense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations
192 are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo
language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual re-
lations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural
punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual re-
lations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say
only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our
village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children
of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual rela-
821 tions with each other. The only comment I could get from the
273 villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

1
"Ivagudodge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo
chaje. Echeræ emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro
rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema,
kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu
remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino
jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu
tugoge, tuvire Echeræ ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodí."

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborega. The

183 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations

835 with whomsoever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with

616 [571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,

[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same

*401 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and

828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other

829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of

[554] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like

yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu be-

tween men married to sisters and imedago between women mar-

ried to the same man. In the first case the distinction be-

tween older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second

case the distinction between older and younger sister is

neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect

[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly

great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or op-

posite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling

each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado

553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo

828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons

829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the

538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very

little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite

funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga'

to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be
buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
501 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
539 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
[764] a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
● 571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned,
the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye
(dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The
society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its
members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering
the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Sev-

881 eral times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
183 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
561 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
825 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
822 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when

881 Mature women, when
891 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
901 boy is shown the aje (bull-roarers) and the other secret
911 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
921 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
931 house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
941 and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
951 lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
961 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
971 is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
981 Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
991 ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
1001 decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
1011 say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
614 moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
633 sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
643 in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
653 fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
663 during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
673 sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
683 monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
764 ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
765 ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
766 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
767 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
768 becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

Brazil.

437 signs than by words. "*Caiêf*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Bof*, sick; *Bof*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with superstitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

/480 cont. /

575 The arôe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
 533 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
 [345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an
 abode for women and children. The united men are called arôe,
 and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In
 the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may
 say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every
 night, arôe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs
 contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is
 followed by at least one arôe as soon as it is named. There is
 singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow
 or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
 [622] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a
 hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to
 sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the arôe join
 in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
 [582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a
 male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which
 pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
 [561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
 families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
 [264] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in
 [554] the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where
 they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also
 take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII
 appears here. /

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did
 not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the
 contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent be-
 cause they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
 105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
 171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
 433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
 511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
 571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there
 the men living in monogamy had their flute house which no
 woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text continues on p. 601]

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
 171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
 433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
 511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
 511 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an
 achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be
 obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the
 men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time,
 which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living
 was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they
 themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough
 to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field
 cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed
 or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of
 the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited
 to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food
 was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for
 the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the
 family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman
 became the more important achievement, it was, conversely,
 advantageous for the women to join together for joint work:
 people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
 out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
 261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of
 water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
 124 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
 184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
 [226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
 [436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those
 vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is
 begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
 415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
 [534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not
 present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle
 gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/486 cont. /

- 411 bamboo point, hollowed out with the capibara chisel, and is only loosely fastened with a little resin and string; cf. No. 4. The war arrow, No. 10, also carved out of seriba, bears a very narrow (one to two centimeters) piece of bamboo, round, but sharpened along its entire length (37 centimeters). The bamboo points break off in the body.

The barbed arrow is equipped with a harpoon device to catch alligators and larger fish. The length of the harpoon arrow in No. 9 was 1.78 centimeters /sic/, 31 centimeters of which should be allowed for the barbed stick fastened to a rope; the shaft, a thick uba reed, was additionally wound half a meter in breadth.

The snapshot in Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ and Plate 28 /see p. 600/ show the stretching of the bow. The crouching archer holds the bow horizontally; the standing one, vertically. A reserve arrow is held parallel to the bow with the left hand. In this case the arrow rests to the left of the bow on the index finger of the left hand, which holds the bow. At its rear end it is grasped between thumb and index finger, the thumb lets go, the index finger, in extended position, supports and adjusts the arrow more accurately, the other three fingers, especially the middle finger, stretch the bowstring. Thus, the stretching is different from that on the Kulisehu (cf. page 237). In the case of the crouching archer, where the arrow lies on the bow and is slightly pressed against it there by the tip of the index finger of the left hand, the position of the stretching right hand differs insofar as the rear end of the arrow is held between the tightly grasping thumb and the bent index finger.

- 345 Work in the men's house and techniques. Each one had his particular place: one who lived in the direction of the river, in the corner facing the river, and so forth, all according to the position of the house of the nearest relatives. Here where the
[571] Indians were among themselves there prevailed, except for the sexual practices, a commendable order, even according to our
461 concepts. A person who had nothing to do, of course, idled with great perseverance, but a person who was occupied with his weapons, ornaments, and implements worked indefatigably and

561 /500 cont. /

571 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families
who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who
captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in
smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe
to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the
tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It
is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental
result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was
exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing
proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of estab-
lished institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy
in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what
fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by
her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter,
and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also
"married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy
is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
[162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situa-
tion to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for
there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for
the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneltd reports: "At their
marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many
women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear
there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives,
up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias
there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
344 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in
562 diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and
which women and children were not permitted to enter, the
"sanctuary."